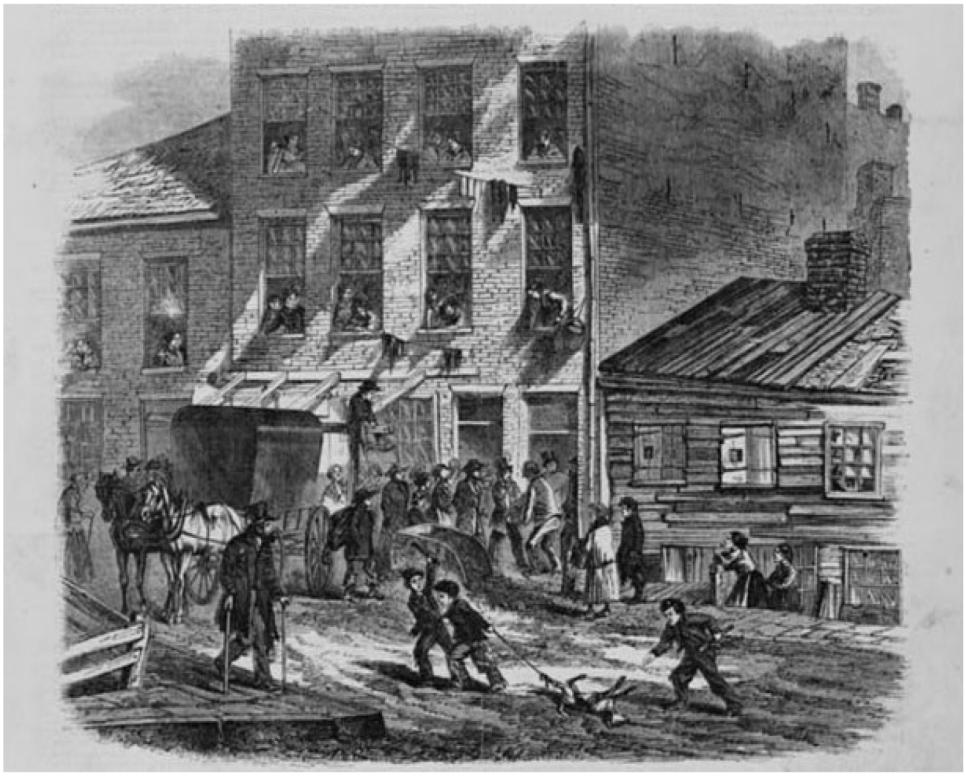
THE DEWITT WALLACE INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE FRIENDS



JULY 1, 2011 - JUNE 30, 2012

The DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry

Annual Report to the Friends

July 1, 2011 - June 30, 2012

Oskar Diethelm Library
Richardson History of Psychiatry Research Seminar
Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry
Eric T. Carlson Memorial Grand Rounds

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Report created by Megan J. Wolff for the
DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry,
Weill Cornell Medical College, Department of Psychiatry.
November 2012.
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The cover image, "End of the Poor Funeral from a Tenement House in Baxter Street, Five Points, New York" is taken from:
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 1, 1863.
Public Health images used throughout this *Annual Report* are taken from *Harper's Weekly*, October 15, 1881 & August 10, 1889, *The Survey*, Vols 22 (1909), 30 (1913) & 34 (1916).

Printed by CUMC Duplicating, New York, New York.

Table of Contents

Directors' Report *5*

Librarian's Report *7*

DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry:
A History *11*

Article:
A Dissertation in Brief *15*

Inside the Collection:
Henri Dagonet and the History of Medical Photography *30*

Eric T. Carlson Grand Rounds *33*

Richardson History of Psychiatry Research Seminar:
Seminar Program Director's Report *38*
Seminar Presentations, 2011-2012 *39*

Working Groups
Psychoanalysis and the Arts *42*
History of Psychoanalysis *43*

Research Faculty & Alumni
Staff & Affiliated Faculty *44*
Faculty News *45*
Alumni News *53*
Benjamin Rush Scholars Program *56*
Research Faculty Publications *57*

Friends of the Institute for the History of Psychiatry *60*

Annual Report Committee *64*



A Board of Health Doctor in a New York City Tenement

Directors' Report

This past academic year I was doubly fortunate. Firstly, I was granted a sabbatical to work on a long-standing book project. As with my prior sabbatical, which was so critical to the completion of *Revolution In Mind*, I received the whole-hearted support of Dr. Barchas and holed up next door at Rockefeller University to work. That word sounds wrong since it felt more like hard, gratifying play. Secondly, I was so lucky and grateful to turn to the Institute's brilliant, deeply committed Associate Director, Dr. Nathan Kravis, who agreed to act as Director in my absence. My deepest thanks to Nate, who has been my friend, ally, and advisor for many years. His report below reviews the many activities he oversaw.

George Makari, M.D.

* * *

The ongoing vitality of the Institute is reflected in the flourishing condition of its academic activities and the continued growth of its collections.

Richardson Seminar and Working Groups

Under the superb leadership of Dr. Barbara Stimmel, the Richardson Seminar has continued to provide a venue for leading scholars around the country and abroad to present the fruits of their research, and for our members to engage with our speakers and with each other in lively discussion of a wide range of topics. The Working Group for the History of Psychoanalysis, and the Psychoanalysis and the Arts Working Group (chaired by Drs. George Makari and Katherine Dalsimer, respectively) offer more intimate and informal settings for deep conversation around readings selected by participants. The Carlson Lecture was delivered by the great

expert on witchcraft and early modern medicine, Professor H.C. Erik Midelfort.

Oskar Diethelm Library

Our new Special Collections Librarian, Marisa Shaari M.L.I.S., has brought renewed vigor and initiative to her stewardship of the ODL. This year, she and our Administrative Assistant, Dr. Megan Wolff, together inaugurated a series of ODL quarterly updates emailed to members. Ms. Shaari also recruited an intern, Allison Cloyd, to create a database of the collection's prints and photos. Allison later came back for a practicum, during which she organized materials such as broadsides and single letters, and assisted in the creation of an online exhibit, "Good for What Ails You? Patent Medicines and Advertising Cards." Reproductions of several of the items featured in the exhibit are on display in the library reading room.

The Library has received some generous and important gifts this year, including the professional papers of Dr. Arnold Cooper, and Dr. Cooper's personal collection of books on psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Over 200 of these books have now been catalogued and are part of our collection. In the spring, Dr. Michels made an extraordinary gift by offering to help fund the purchase of a desirable rare volume when it came up for auction in the UK. Our bid ultimately failed, but the experience prompted us to develop a 'wish list' for the Oskar Diethelm Library, and Dr. Michels' generosity since then has allowed us to make many of our fondest wishes come true. Details will follow in next year's Annual Report. We encourage other members and supporters to follow suit.

Nathan Kravis, M.D.

Oskar Diethelm Library

Librarian's Report

This past July marked my one year anniversary as the new Special Collections Librarian at the Oskar Diethelm Library. Having now been in the position for well over a year, I have had the opportunity to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Library's collections and how they were acquired and used over time. Projects implemented over the past year were all undertaken with the common goals of increasing accessibility and further showcasing the wonderful resources in the Library collections.

Special Projects

The Library was fortunate to have a graduate student intern here for the Spring 2012 semester from the Pratt Institute program in Library and Information Science. Allison Cloyd took on the much needed project of cataloging our prints and photographs collection. Prior to her efforts, all that existed was a typed list of materials with little detail or arrangement. Allison began by organizing the materials, rehousing them into archival folders and boxes, and numbering each item in the collection. She then created a database with an entry for each item, listing all the relevant information including description, date, creator, dimensions, subject headings, and related information. Allison's efforts uncovered many noteworthy items, including a series of temperance cartoons by Albert T. Reid, a collection of 19th century advertising cards for patent medicines, and numerous photographs of prominent psychiatrists.

The second part of this project is the work of digitizing the images in the collection with the goal of eventually making them available online. Work has already begun. Thanks to the assistance of librarians at Cornell University in Ithaca who specialize in digitization and metadata, digital scanning and

preservation standards were implemented to ensure long term preservation and storage of the newly scanned images. This is an ongoing project that will further our efforts to increase digital access to the Library's collections.

Archives and Manuscripts

We are proud to report that the Library now has 22 finding aids (guides to our archival collections) linked on our website. Having these finding aids available electronically is of great use to our researchers, who can now review collections and do preliminary research before visiting. The finding aids will soon be added to the National Library of Medicine's History of Medicine Finding Aids Consortium, making them accessible to many more researchers. Efforts to reformat older finding aids and projects to create new ones for collections that are not yet processed will continue as time goes on.

Donations

The Library received a number of donations in the last year that have significantly expanded the library's manuscript and book collections.

Dr. Arnold Cooper's widow, Katherine Addleman Cooper, generously donated his professional papers and his personal collection of books on psychiatry and psychoanalysis to the Library at the end of 2011. This important archive includes material on Dr. Cooper's research, his lectures, his editorship at the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, and his role in significant organizations such as the American Psychoanalytic Association and the International Psychoanalytical Association. The book collection, comprised of over 200 volumes, is a significant addition to the Library and enhances our collection of contemporary works on psychoanalysis. We are pleased to report that all the books have been cataloged and added to the Library's online search engine. The collection contains works by Salman Akhtar, Edmund Bergler, Ethel Spector Person, Joseph Sandler, and John R. Searle, among others. None of the donated works were previously held in the library's collection.

Paul Freedman, Ph.D., the son of prominent psychiatrist Alfred Freedman (1917-2011), generously donated his father's papers to the Oskar Diethelm Library in late 2011. Alfred Freedman served as chairman of the department of psychiatry at New York Medical College for 30 years, working to address social issues and creating programs for adult and adolescent drug addicts. As president of the American Psychiatric Association in 1973, he led the movement to overturn the policy of declaring homosexuality a mental illness. Freedman was active in many organizations and campaigned vigorously against the use of psychopharmacologic drugs on psychotic death-row inmates for the purpose of declaring them competent for execution. These papers will serve as an important and useful resource for researchers in the years to come.

In addition to these two larger collections, we also received individual donations of books, photographs, and papers from William Frosch, M.D., Robert Michels, M.D., Sylvia Karasu, M.D., Michel Radomisli, Ph.D., Joseph Reppen Ph.D., and Sidney Fortner. Naomi Goldstein, M.D., generously donated a complete set (24 volumes) of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* to the library. Theodore Shapiro, M.D., donated back issues of *JAPA*, *IJP* and the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* journals, allowing us to fill in issues that were missing from the Library. We are very grateful for these generous donations and hope members will continue to keep the Library in mind for contributions of materials that may enhance our collections.

Library Use

Researchers made good use of the Library's resources in the 2011-2012 academic year. Among the archival collections requested most frequently were the American Psychoanalytic Association papers, the National Committee for Mental

Hygiene papers, the Winnicott Papers, and the Thomas Salmon papers. Researchers also consulted the Library's collection of hospital and asylum annual reports and some of our 19th century German journal titles.

As always, newly published books and current journals are available for browsing in the reading room of the Library. Please visit and make use of some of the amazing resources housed and maintained here at the Oskar Diethelm Library.

Marisa Shaari, M.L.I.S.



"Sick Child"

The DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry

A History

The DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry is an inter-disciplinary research unit in the Department of Psychiatry of the Joan and Sanford I. Weill Medical College of Cornell University and The New York Presbyterian Hospital. Its objective is to carry out, encourage, and advise scholarship in a broad range of historical topics that are relevant to the present day theory and practice of psychiatry. Its basic activities include the Richardson History of Psychiatry Research Seminar and the administering of the Oskar Diethelm Library.

The foundation of the Institute was laid in 1936, when Dr. Oskar Diethelm, Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry and Psychiatrist-in-Chief of the recently opened Payne Whitney Psychiatric Clinic, began assembling books and journals important to the history of psychiatry, convinced as he was of their value to clinicians. Stimulated by this growing resource, Dr. Eric T. Carlson formally launched the History of Psychiatry Section (as the Institute was originally known) in 1958, when he received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to pursue research into the history of American psychiatry. At the same time, Dr. Diethelm appointed him to a newly created position as Director of the Section.

Under the leadership of Dr. Carlson, the activities and collections of the History Section steadily expanded to serve a wide range of interests, from the education of medical students and residents to the exchange of ideas among historically oriented scholars from many disciplines. In the early 1960s, Dr. Carlson instituted a biweekly research seminar, which in 1993 was renamed the Richardson Research Seminar in honor of the Richardsons' generous support.

When Dr. Diethelm retired in 1962, the Section's rare books library was named in his honor. The Oskar Diethelm

Library now contains over 50,000 printed items, constituting the most comprehensive collection of its kind in the United States. Initially, the emphasis was on collecting British and American works from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries as well as Renaissance works in Latin. As the Library grew, however, it developed major collections dating from the 15th century in French, German and Italian, as well as acquired selected works in Arabic, Dutch, Hungarian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish.

The Library now counts among its holdings nearly every edition of the monographs of such important figures as Emil Kraepelin, Sigmund Freud, Isaac Ray and Benjamin Rush. The Library holds significant collections in such areas as the history of hypnotism, psychoanalysis, the American mental hygiene movement, the temperance movement, as well as religious and medical debates on witchcraft, suicide, and sexual behaviors. There are also many early and rare first-person accounts of psychiatric illness, alcoholism, and drug abuse. The Library has the complete runs of several crucial and uncommon journals and an impressive collection of hospital and asylum reports of the 19th and early 20th centuries, amounting to more than 3,500 items.

Dr. Diethelm recognized the value of knowledge contained in early dissertations written for the medical degree in pre-Enlightenment Europe. He traveled throughout Europe to identify them in foreign repositories and collected what he could for the Library, eventually collating his work into his *Medical Dissertations of Psychiatric Interest before 1750* (Basel: Karger, 1971). The Library's collection of these theses now stands at nearly five hundred.

In 1976, the manuscript division of the Library was officially established, indicating its growing importance as a repository for the unpublished papers of many organizations and individuals vital to the history of psychiatry. The Library now houses over sixty manuscript collections. It is the official depository of such institutions as the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, the American Psychoanalytic Association, and the Cheiron Society. Its holdings of the papers of D.W. Winnicott

and David Levy make it an important resource for the study of child psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Through the generosity of Dr. Bernard L. Diamond, primary sources have been amassed relating to cases vital to the history of forensic psychiatry, such as the M'Naughton trial and the Guiteau trial. There are notable holdings related to the American mental hygiene movement, biological psychiatry, and such renowned figures as Clifford Beers, Sigmund Freud, Morton Prince, William James, G. Stanley Hall, Johann Spurzheim, Andrew and George Combe, Herbert Spencer, August Forel, Francis Galton, S. Weir Mitchell, and Harry Stack Sullivan.

From its earliest days, numerous scholars have worked in the Oskar Diethelm Library, publishing their discoveries as articles or books. From the Renaissance psychiatry that Dr. Diethelm pursued and the early American psychiatry that Dr. Carlson explored, the topics of inquiry have multiplied. The list has grown to include biographies of psychiatrists, psychologists, and pioneers in mental hygiene; accounts of the development of child psychiatry and the changing attitude toward children; books on psychoanalysis and its reception in various parts of the world; histories of psychiatry during specific periods, of particular mental hospitals that epitomized the development of the field, as well as sub-specialties such as the treatment of alcoholism or schizophrenia; studies in legal psychiatry; topics in British, German, and French psychiatry; histories and analyses of ideas and concepts in psychiatry, psychology, and psychoanalysis; works on the relationship between psychiatry, literature and religion; as well as investigations of multiple personality disorders and hypnosis. There are also two published volumes of symposia sponsored by the Institute.

Dr. Carlson organized the Friends of the Oskar Diethelm Library in 1964, thus widening the Library's circle of interested and active supporters. Those who could not participate directly, but who recognized the value of the Library's programs, began to give generously to benefit the collections and support the scholars who use them. The Friends' regular membership has grown steadily, while larger grants from far-seeing individuals

and foundations have permitted the awarding of fellowships, the acquisition of special collections, and historical materials.

After the death of Ted Carlson in 1992, Dr. George Makari assumed the Directorship of the Institute. During his tenure, Dr. Makari has undertaken a number of initiatives, including the launching of the Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry book series, the inauguration of the Carlson Grand Rounds in the History of Psychiatry, the creation of specialized research working groups, and the modernization and professional cataloguing of the ODL's holdings. In 1994, the Institute for the History of Psychiatry responded to the prospective razing of the Payne Whitney Clinic by moving the Oskar Diethelm Library to temporary quarters at the New York Academy of Medicine. The Library returned to the campus of Weill Medical College and the New York Presbyterian Hospital in the spring of 1999, where it now occupies state-of-the-art facilities. In 2003, Nathan M. Kravis was appointed Associate Director of the Institute. In 2009, in grateful recognition of longstanding support of The DeWitt Wallace - New York Hospital Fund, established in the New York Community Trust by the founder of Reader's Digest Association, Inc., the Institute was re-christened The DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry.



"FOURTEEN BY AFFIDAVIT."

A Dissertation in Brief

Megan Wolff offers a synopsis of her disstertation in the History of Public Health.

The Money Value of Risk: Life Insurance and the Transformation of American Public Health, 1896-1924

In the first decades of the 20th century, insurance firms such as Metropolitan Life and the Prudential poured millions of dollars into a public health campaign so aggressive and wide-reaching that it changed the very language of public health. The companies funded visiting nurses, opened tuberculosis sanitariums, educated policyholders about germs, and handed out fly swatters. Perhaps most importantly, they conducted studies. At the Metropolitan, statisticians and medical directors launched sickness surveys and demonstration projects. At the Prudential, personnel conducted research initiatives into silicosis, industrial accidents, and cancer that served as models for investigations by other scientific bodies. Both firms made a practice of analyzing their own policyholder data, a trove of records charting the medical examinations and death claims of millions of the insured which constituted one of the largest data sets ever collected on American mortality. All told, the firms' efforts brought an enormously enduring combination of scientific expertise and statistical management to public health research. Within a handful of decades, statistical risk assessment had become a touchstone of medicine, public health, and epidemiology, an intellectual transfer with enormous implications for the theory, language, and practice of healthcare in the United States. By the late 20th century, the language and science of risk had become the language and science of medicine.

Such a dramatic scientific outcome was not what the insurance firms had in mind when they embarked on public

health work in 1909, and in fact the corporations' contributions to statistical epidemiology have been scarcely acknowledged, except in the work of a handful of scholars. Considering the impact of the firms' involvement, however, there is much to be learned from an exploration of why and how the companies took on the role of public health promoters and researchers. Few methodologies are developed or transferred absent the ideologies of their authors. The role of risk analysis and statistical investigation in modern medical practice demands clearer insight into its origins, and my dissertation seeks to illuminate the motivations – and by extension, the ramifications – of the industry's activities. Why did life insurance firms become involved in public health work at the turn of the century, and why did their activities assume the shape they did? More importantly, what was the influence of the firms' activities on the wider American discourse of risk?

Participating firms justified their public health work by claiming that it reduced costs, but a close review of the data demonstrates that this assertion was facile. The Metropolitan, for instance, attested that its welfare measures saved millions of dollars by averting morbidity among its customers, but even the calculations of its own statistician proved otherwise. "It should be noted here that the remarkable improvement in mortality which has taken place can only to a very slight extent be laid to the door of insurance companies," the Welfare Department Director reported in 1918.[1] The American death rate was indeed dropping precipitously, but the improvements stemmed from the combined efforts of bacteriologists, physicians, chemists, engineers, architects, health inspectors, and a legion of others, not from the efforts of a single firm. Neither altruism nor reduced costs sat behind the insurers' activities; their motivations lay elsewhere.

The history of the life insurance industry is a history of image-making, of firms describing their wares as necessary and desirable tools for managing uncertainty, and finding ways to do so in culturally palatable terms. The sale of policies has long depended on the capacity of marketers to capture and

manipulate social anxieties surrounding mortality, power, responsibility, and human worth. To entice policyholders to lay money down against their fears, they must influence and channel the way in which policyholders think about risk. My dissertation argues that the leading American life insurance companies became involved in health and welfare work to influence the way in which Americans thought about who should manage risk, and how, protecting the for-profit industry from European-type intrusion by the public sector.

When the national consciousness turned in the early 20th century toward questions of resource conservation, national vitality, and public health, the savviest companies kept abreast – if not one step ahead – of these ideas. Data and ideology from Europe was rapidly filtering into American discourse, pointing to ways in which the federal government might protect citizens from avoidable injury and premature death by introducing safety and health initiatives, and basic insurance against burial and unemployment. Such measures, if adopted, would have destroyed the American market for commercial insurance. By launching public health initiatives of their own, industry actors attempted to create a precedent for management of public health through the private sector. Only by joining the movement itself could the industry efficiently control its terms.

Histories of the fight for (and against) government-sponsored insurance in the United States typically locate the beginning of the struggle in 1916, when the American Association of Labor Legislation attempted to pass model bills for social insurance through several state legislatures.[2] Close analysis of industry documents, however, reveals careful attention by industry personnel to social legislation passed overseas, and measures taken to avert it long before the first publicly- recognized skirmishes in the nineteen teens. Though few Americans outside of universities and social reform organizations noted the trends seeded in Europe, insurance personnel kept an ear pressed close to the floor as early as the 1890s. By 1906, the growing success of European social

insurance legislation had prompted real and pressing anxiety among industry leaders, who feared that such measures would erode or even eliminate the commercial market if passed in the United States. When the firms joined in the national crusade for public health in 1909, they gained a prized opportunity to defend and define the role of commercial bodies in managing risk, and to divert popular support for government measures. Their activities in the coming decades transferred the language and methodology of statistical risk into medicine and public health. In addition, however, they succeeded at their primary goal of establishing the private sector — not the government — as the guardian of national health and welfare in the United States. It was a precedent that would guide the way healthcare would be developed and delivered in this nation for a century or more to come.

My dissertation, written under the advisement of historian David Rosner and defended at Columbia University in May, 2011, tells that story. In six chapters it traces the activities of the American life insurance industry from the 1890s through the 1920s, following the ways in which key companies utilized the discourse of risk to encourage sales and preserve the market for commercial policies, in the process influencing the future shape of American public health.

A Market for the Working Class

At the center of concern was the "industrial" branch, whose significance and context is described and discussed in the first chapter of the dissertation. Industrial insurance was the arm of the industry that sold small policies to working class households, and which government insurance threatened to make obsolete. Introduced in the United States in 1875, the branch mimicked the work of German bunds and American mutual aid societies by collecting tiny premiums from working households every week in exchange for policies worth approximately $100. Agents travelled door to door on payday collecting sums and writing receipts that were pleasingly solid and actuarial to their ragged clientele. Though they dealt

literally in nickels and dimes, the policies opened the vast and untapped resources of the working class to the industry, and quickly became the business' fastest-growing market share. The razor-thin economies of the working class meant that millions tetered a single accident or illness away from financial calamity, and the availability of commercial insurance offered a welcome layer of protection. Working class households purchased policies at an astonishing rate. Within five years, the two most aggressive industrial firms, the Prudential and Metropolitan Life, had initiated $19 million of insurance, and through 1905 sales continued to grow geometrically.[3] Though plagued with detractors and by occasional scandal, the industrial market constituted the fastest-growing market segment of the business, an asset the companies were keenly interested in preserving.



A Little Mother

From the start, this proved a significant challenge. The same conditions that made such policies desirable and necessary to workers were, by the late nineteenth century, attracting the attention of a wider circle of reformers, whose efforts to alleviate poverty and combat human suffering became increasingly organized, obstreperous, and policy-oriented as the century drew to a close. The first chapter of my dissertation chronicles the response of the Prudential to state legislation banning sales discrimination against African Americans. Faced with the social incommensurability of white and "Negro" lives, industrial companies had largely refused to sell policies to African Americans, although some firms offered reduced benefits and inferior service for regular premiums. When an anti-discrimination law in 1893 threatened to halt this practice, The Prudential hired a young statistician, Frederick Hoffman, to demonstrate — on a scientific basis — the "inferiority" of



black risks. Pulling together a mix of statistics, speculation, and mathematical inference, Hoffman created a document in which he scientifically "proved" that as a group, African Americans presented a liability to the insurance company, and they were in fact vulnerable to extinction. The announcement struck some readers as absurd, but many more embraced it as scientific doctrine. It powerfully impacted the race debate of the era, and succeeded in tilting in the life insurer's favor the discourse of risk.

The incident was illustrative of the industry's desire to control its market, and serves as a powerful example of its resourcefulness in influencing the social debate surrounding the management of risk. To deflect legislation and market policies, the insurance firm harnessed a chief concern at the cultural core of the nation's life – the so-called race debate – and wove it into a convincing rhetoric. Against a wider backdrop of reform, however, the incident was a tempest in a teapot. The more salient threats to the vitality of the industry (against which it mounted its public health campaign) took place on a wider stage, on which changing notions of personal risk, government responsibility, and national strength engaged the firms in a lengthy and carefully veiled drama. As the Prudential had in the 1890s, the firms would eventually attempt to preserve their market by entering the field of public health, demonstrating the scientific efficiency of the private sector against the ideologically "un-American" public management of risk.

A Nation at Risk

By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States was in the midst of an industrial crisis, and calls for government regulation and social reform were taking on a newly-charged

intensity and strength. The central chapters of this dissertation explore the social and political influences that threatened to shift American perceptions of risk from the personal to the collective. The nation possessed a higher accident rate than any nation in the world, including the industrialized centers of Europe. Accidents caused over 57,000 fatalities in 1901, 8,000 of which occurred on the railroads, where conditions were so dangerous that they resulted in tens of thousands of additional injuries.[4] The majority of accidents befell wage-earning employees, who endured a disproportionate exposure to risk in nearly all of the industries that fueled the industrial economy.[5] The purchase of industrial insurance was one mechanism of defense against these conditions, but the increase in labor upheaval suggested other, more collective measures of action. Workers engaged in 23,000 strikes between 1880 and 1900, a rate that averaged three new strikes a day for a period of twenty years.[6] Industrialists decried such actions as lawlessness, but social scientists and others emphasized the need for a structural approach to the nation's growing social problems, one that recognized the interconnected nature of state governance, economic systems, and human suffering. Turning away from the philosophy that identified poverty as the result of personal failing, charity workers increasingly took issue with the idea that a single individual could adequately ward off the risks of modern life, and directed scorn toward those who seemed to exploit this perspective: namely, the life insurance industry.

By the 1890s, their voices were clear, and threatening. In newspapers, magazines, and court rooms, social reformers condemned industrial insurance companies for preying on the poorest of the poor. "There are times when five or ten cents will



save a family from starvation," boiled an outraged clergyman.[7] The money that households expended on their tiny policies could be much better spent feeding children or paying for medicines. The attentions of the corporate firms were predatory. In 1895, hearings between outraged social workers and defensive life insurance executives packed the Massachusetts legislature for a month and a half, while newspapers shouted headlines such as "Children Sacrificed" and "More Pictures of Misery."

The hearings attracted extensive national attention, and the resources the commercial companies lavished on their defense indicated how seriously they took the threat. Three firms dispatched six seasoned trial lawyers to oppose the single in-house counsel of their foe, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and paid Boston area newspapers a dollar a line to print testimony of their defense.[8] Setting aside all other business, the company CEOs attended all six weeks of the hearings in person, occupying prime seats in a gallery packed with "earnest, pushing agents."[9] Twenty-seven years later, the president of the Metropolitan Life stated that the six most terrible weeks he had ever endured "were passed in Boston in 1895."[10]

It was these hearings, and not the later ones in 1905, that prodded the industrial insurance firms toward a program of social service. The proceedings of 1905 created a national sensation, but dealt predominantly with incidents of financial malpractice and legal interference on the part of "ordinary" insurance firms, which wrote policies for the wealthy and the middle class. The transgressions they exposed were galling, but did not call into question the philosophical basis of ordinary life insurance. The evidence submitted by welfare personnel in 1895, however, created a damning argument against industrial insurance by illustrating that the hazards of industrial life outstripped the



capacity of private insurance to manage working class risk. The logical conclusion of the reformers was that commercial policies were at best a stop-gap measure (and at worst a form of economic exploitation) until more comprehensive solutions to the problem of spreading risk could be attained. At the adjournment of the hearings, the presidents of the Industrial branch returned to their respective offices, inclined to pay renewed attention to the reform ideals of social reformers.

Despite the horror of the Boston hearings, the indictment of commercial insurance for the working class could not have come as a complete surprise to the officers of the large industrial companies. Sources indicate that it was a denunciation that they had both feared and predicted. The first government insurance measures had become law over a decade earlier in Germany, when the Kaiser had passed a series of national insurance programs that provided burial and sickness benefits to the majority of the nation's industrial workers. The act had prompted policy discussions among reformers across North America, Europe, and Australasia, many of whom argued that it resolved the contradictions posed by commercial insurance in the competitive market place.[11] Worldwide, nations sought solutions to the growing industrial misery of the working class, and increasingly they tested solutions that were state-based. Injury compensation laws in Austria (1887), Hungary (1891), and Norway (1894) lent validity to the German insurance model, and before the end of the century they would be adopted by Finland, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, France, Spain, and New Zealand.[12] In the United States, analysis of the practice began in earnest as early as 1893, when scholars and reformers began to investigate and publish on the successes and failures of the German system.

A Collaborative Truce

In early February, 1909, the Association of American Life Insurance presidents received an invitation that would present the industrial firms with an opportunity to change their future. Yale University professor Irving Fisher addressed the

body to suggest that the companies participate in the growing movement for American public health, where their influence might prevent untold burdens of illness and even prolong human life. "Concerted action by the life insurance industries would mark, I believe, one of the greatest steps, if not the greatest step, ever taken toward the extension of human longevity," stated the professor.[14] The fifth chapter of my dissertation discusses this alliance.

Some of Fisher's hearers rejected his suggestion with incredulity, but many did not. The economist made numerous allusions to aspects of the wider political context that had been troubling to the industry. Without referring directly to either employer's liability or workmen's compensation, he intimated the progress of the national debate by making reference to the "ill-advised legislation hampering business to the detriment of both capital and labor." This legislation, he noted significantly, might be avoided by passing bills that would aid labor by *preventing* avoidable morbidity and mortality.

The insinuation that the commercial firms should join the movement or be left behind was hardly subtle, and Fisher was a particularly apt messenger for the cause. In addition to his post at Yale, the professor served as the head of the Committee of One Hundred for National Health, an alliance of prominent Americans who had pushed since 1906 for the establishment of a federal department of health. The committee included figures as diverse as Jane Addams, Andrew Carnegie, Charles Eliot, Hermann Biggs, and Thomas Edison, and had attracted a powerful ally in President Roosevelt, who was keenly interested in arguments linking human vitality with national strength. The would-be health department constituted exactly the type of expansion that the insurance industry opposed, but the invitation from Fisher created the possibility for a collaborative truce with social reformers. With its highly evolved capacity to sway policyholders and disseminate information, the insurance industry represented one of the best educational vehicles in the nation. More than any other body, it had the capacity to inform Americans about developments

in hygiene and sanitation, and persuade them that a nationwide system of health reform was necessary. In exchange for their involvement, industry actors would have an opportunity to shape the messages informing the debate. In approaching the firms, Fisher had effectively offered them a seat at the table.

At subsequent meetings of the insurance presidents, issues of public health and human welfare became a chief topic of discussion consuming one quarter of the body's proceedings. Settlement workers such as Lillian Wald, public health authorities such as US PHS Surgeon General Walter Wyman, and sanitarians such as Dr. Alvah Dohty addressed the association on multiple occasions, helping to generate an impressive partnership between the life insurance industry and

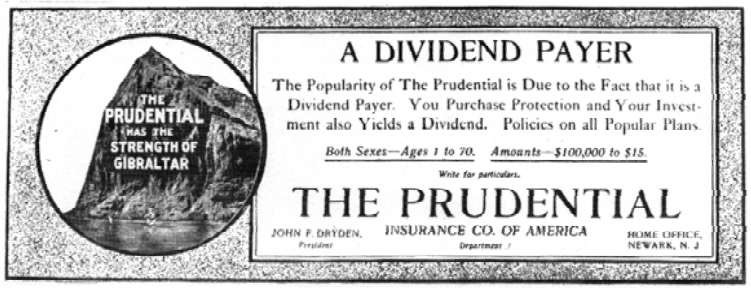


health reformers. By the late nineteen teens, industrial firms such as the Prudential and Metropolitan Life had become heavily invested in public health work, supporting services, demonstrations, and research studies that strongly impacted the shape of the movement. They contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars and invaluable access to their business machinery to a cause that was, at base, substantially removed from their financial bottom line.

The final chapter of my dissertation explores those activities in further depth. The decision to engage in public health work manifestly allowed the industrial firms to become participants in the changing national debate about risk, rather than embattled antagonists. Among the most spirited participants in the public health movement was Metropolitan Life, which over the next few decades came to be virtually

synonymous with public health publicity. In February of 1909, it appointed its newest hire, social worker Lee Frankel, to serve as manager of the Industrial Department. Frankel was well connected within the circle of charity and welfare workers throughout Philadelphia and New York, a factor that contributed to his desirability to the firm, and he utilized their ideas and expertise along with his own considerable resources to build a series of programs at Met Life that quickly became nationally known.[15] At the suggestion of Lillian Wald, for instance, Frankel launched a visiting nurse program in cooperation with the nurses of the Henry Street Settlement, dispatching trained caregivers to the homes of ailing policyholders throughout the city. The program was enormously successful, increasing the desirability of insurance among the poor, and linking the name of the Metropolitan with direct service and public health.

The welfare work of the Metropolitan cast a long shadow, and the Prudential soon found itself confronted with a formidable competitor and a changing set of public expectations regarding the responsibilities of an industrial insurer. To outfit the Prudential with a "welfare" initiative of its own, statistician Frederick Hoffman persuaded the company president to reframe the statistical department as a clearinghouse for statistical and sociological information, and to authorize collaborative work with medical and scientific bodies. In 1912, for instance, Hoffman engaged the statistical department in a collaborative analysis of the medical records of Johns Hopkins Hospital, a project that constituted the first



thorough study of the experience data of an American medical institution. It received positive reviews in the medical and scientific press, and Hoffman speculated that it had established a model for statistical work by other institutions, which would ultimately help to improve the state of American statistics.[16] It did. By mid-decade, the company had become well known to American federal, state and municipal governments, and to scientific institutions throughout the world, many of which submitted their own statistical experience to the company's growing database.

The Metropolitan launched studies, too. In 1911 its Statistical Department embarked on sickness surveys and health demonstration projects, and by late in the decade had taken up scientific research in a purer form not unlike the Prudential's. The initial surveys – of cities including Rochester, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Trenton, Boston, and the neighborhood of Chelsea in New York City – involved the use of company agents to collect data on elements such as disability and unemployment. In Rochester, for instance, members of the field force contacted 7,638 families (34,490 people), a sample constituting 14% of the total population. The company compared these findings to those of Trenton and Boston, hoping that an estimate of the total cost of sickness and disability within various communities would shed light on improved measures for alleviation.[17] The Framingham Health Demonstration, begun in December, 1916, was even more ambitious, and sought to create a model health community out of the entire town of Framingham, Massachusetts. The project, which succeeded in lowering the death rate at twice the rate of control communities, and in increasing the per capita spending for health programs from forty cents to $2.40, became a model for such work all over the nation.[18]

The enduring support and remarkable success of these initiatives prompted further competitors to launch efforts of their own. By the late teens, industrial insurance firms Aetna and John Hancock had initiated nursing services and welfare

programs of their own. As public interest in social insurance became more pronounced, the firms stepped up their health protection efforts to include disability benefits (Aetna, 1916, Equitable 1917) and, at the Metropolitan in 1921, health insurance.[19] Not only did these actions help to defuse calls for state coverage, they established the private firms in a new and lucrative market. Manufacturers, who condemned the idea of being forced to pay more for the maintenance of their workforce, encouraged these innovations, often by buying into the newly available group insurance policies offered by the firms. The combination of these efforts granted employers and private insurers a long-lasting victory: private health plans are still the domain of the private sector today .[20]

For the field of American public health, the story may be one of short-term gain (in the form of nurses and health promotion) accompanied by long-term loss (the failure of health insurance to become law during one of its most likely political moments). Only in 1953 did the nation create a federal agency, establishing a cabinet-level Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. For over half a century beforehand, what centralized health administration existed in the United States was heavily influenced by methods incubated in the Metropolitan's welfare division. The impact of the social workers who operated in alliance with the life insurance industry through that time was highly complex, and remains to be examined.

Megan J. Wolff, Ph.D., MPH

Footnotes:

[1] Lee Frankel, "Medical Insurance and Health Conservation," Paper read before the Medical Section of the National Fraternal Congress of America at Philadelphia, Pa, August 1918. Box 2, Folder: Articles and Speeches on Health and Insurance (1916-1919), American Jewish Historical Society.
[2] Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: the Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, (Belknap: Cambridge, MA, 1992), 198.
[3] Maurice Taylor, *The Social Cost of Industrial Insurance*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1933), 27.

[4] 61,794 of these were officially recorded in 1904. George Rosen, *Preventive Medicine in the United States, 1900-1975: trends and interpretations*, (New York: Science History Publications, 1975) 8-9.
[5] Mary Oppenheimer, "Employer's Liability," *Charities Review*, 6:4 (1897: June): 326-331.
[6] Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 1.
[7] "Children Sacrificed,"*Boston Daily Globe*, 20 March, 1895, 4.
[8] Lucy Atwood Fay, "Industrial Insurance: Discussion," *The Charities Review* 8:2 (1898, April), 68-71.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Haley Fiske, Speech to the Interstate Managers' Association, Waldorf Astoria, Dec 14, 1922. Haley Fiske, Speeches and Writings, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Archives.
[11] Skocpol, 160.
[12] Isaac Max Rubinow, *Social Insurance: with Special Reference to American Conditions* (Holt, 1913)., 18-19. See also "Workingmen's Insurance," *The Charities Review* 5:3 (Jan 1896), 156.
[13] Irving Fisher, "Economic Aspect of Lengthening Human Life," Address delivered before the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, New York City, Feb 5, 1909. See also, Irving Norton Fisher, *My Father Irving Fisher*, (New York: Comet Press Books, 1956), 149.
[14] Memo from Haley Fiske to Metropolitan Life staff, "The Metropolitan Makes a New Appointment," 28 January, 1909; Box 1, Folder: Biographic and Bibliographic Data; Lee Kaufer Frankel collection; P-146; American Jewish Historical Society.
[15] Frederick Hoffman, "Annual Report of the Statistician's Department for 1913," Box 4, Vol 13A, Frederick L. Hoffman Collection, Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscripts Library.
[16] Lee Frankel and Louis Dublin, "Community Sickness Survey, Rochester NY, September 1915." Reprint no. 326 from the Public Health Reports, February 25, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916). See also "A Health Census of Chelsea Neighborhood," (New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1917).
[17] Marquis James, *The Metropolitan Life: A study in Business Growth*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1947), 214-219. When the Metropolitan ceased its operations in the town in 1923, the United States Federal Public Health Service assumed responsibility for the study. Framingham continues as a site of research and investigation to the present day.
[18] Prudential followed suit in 1925. Beatrix Hoffman, *The Wages of Sickness: The Politics of Health Insurance in Progressive America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 2001), 112.
[20] *Ibid*, 105-106.

Inside the Collection



Aaron Esman reviews one of the Oskar Diethelm Library's historical gems.

Henri Dagonet and the History of Medical Photography

Henri Dagonet, M.D. (1823 - 1902), is not a name to conjure with today, even in France. But in his time he was a major figure in French psychiatry, Chief Physician of the Asylum at Stephansfeld/Strasbourg from 1857 to 1867, and Chief Physician of the Asile de Ste. Anne in Paris from 1867 to 1894, then as now a major facility for the care of the mentally ill. One of his distinctions included the publication of his massive textbook, *Nouveau Traité Élémentaire et Pratique des Maladies Mentale*, the second edition of which (1876) featured, for the first time in any medical volume, photographic illustrations of patients with a wide variety of disorders. Earlier texts (including his first edition in 1864) had used drawings, wood engravings and other graphic media to represent the signs of mental illnesses, but for this edition Dagonet succeeded in obtaining photographs from private collections and making use of the new technique of photoengraving to enhance the realism of his illustrations.

Photographs of hospitalized mental patients were not entirely new, of course. Gilman (1982) has documented their use by "alienists" in the mid-19th century (particularly in England) largely for administrative purposes, but it was Dagonet who first mustered the resources of France's new photographic industry to make them available to the wide range of medical and allied disciplines concerned with the diagnosis and treatment of psychiatric patients. Like many of his 19th-century colleagues, Dagonet was a firm believer in physiognomic diagnosis, thus his conviction that the accurate photographic images he provided of the facial features of typical

patients would sharpen the diagnostic acuity of his readers and, therefore, their therapeutic acumen.

Even as it is with us today, classification was a major concern of European (and especially French) psychiatrists at the time. Lacking an etiological understanding of most mental disorders (as we still do), Dagonet followed the lead of predecessors such as Pinel and Esquirol in basing his system on precise clinical observation and symptomatology. As one later observer put it, "Today we still search for an ideal classification, and without doubt our grandchildren won't see it any more than we do, and if those proposed are numerous, they give above all satisfaction to their authors" (Christian, quoted in Semelaigne, 1932, my translation).

Example 1. (Pl.2) Dagonet argued for the retention of Esquirol's term "lypemanie" (derived from Greek words for "sadness" and "madness") for what others (and we) would call "psychotic depression," and provided a plate with photographs of four exemplars whom he described as variously delusional and agitated, along with their profound mood disorders. Therapeutic recommendations were of their time: moral (i.e., emotional) treatment consisting largely in efforts at persuasion based on an empathic relationship with the doctor, combined with baths, herbal concoctions such as tincture of rhubarb, and low doses of opium.

Example 2. Cretinism (Pl. 8) Rare today, this was a common problem in the nineteenth century, and was marked by massive goiters and severe mental retardation. Dagonet's accompanying discussion demonstrated his adherence to traditional notions of etiology such as bad air, excess humidity and impure water, despite his knowledge of the observations of Roulin and Boussingault which had, as early as 1825 and 1831, demonstrated the prophylactic value of iodized salt. Like many at the time, he continued to believe that iodine owed its efficacy solely to its ability to purify drinking water.

Dagonet was a devoted, non-doctrinaire physician, with remarkably humane and progressive ideas about forensic issues and a firm commitment to careful, accurate clinical

description. Physiognomic diagnosis as exemplified by the photographs he assembled to support his system of classification was a step, however faltering, toward the scientific psychiatry we are still — in the age of DSM5 and genetic research — struggling to achieve.

Aaron H. Esman, M.D.



References:

1. Dagonet. H. (1876) *Nouveau Traité Élémentaire et Pratique des Maladies Mentale.* Paris, Balliere et Fils.
2. Gilman, S. (1982) *Seeing the Insane*. New York, Basic Books/Wiley Interscience/Brunner-Mazel.
3. Semelaigne, R. (1932) *Les Pionniers de la Psychiatrie Francaise—Avant et Apres Pinel*. Paris, J. Balliere & Cie, p. 93

Eric T. Carlson Memorial Grand Rounds

H.C. Erik Midelfort confirmed his reputation for excellent scholarship and solid archival work when he delivered the Carlson Grand Rounds on September 14, 2011. Midelfort, who has received fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation and from the National Endowment for the Humanities, is the author of *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, an award-winning book exploring the intellectual and social dilemmas posed by early modern insanity. He addressed the Richardson Seminar in 2008 on the subject of demons and the history of psychiatry, and Richardson attendees were delighted to welcome him back again last fall. Professor Emeritus of History and Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, Midelfort has researched and written extensively on the role of madness and mental disorder in perceptions of witchcraft, a subject interpreted by many as the basis for early psychiatry. Binet, Charcot, Esquirol, and Freud all commented on the likelihood that psychopathology surrounded the supposed practice of witchcraft. The possibility that alleged witches suffered from hysteria, hallucinations, and schizophrenia has been repeated in almost all standard histories of psychiatry.

In his morning lecture, "Vernacular Psychiatry: Madness in an 18th-Century Encyclopedia," Midelfort opened his remarks by dryly debunking the sensationalism surrounding witches. The history of witchcraft, he asserted, has been host to a series of psychological theories, many of them quite bogus. To argue that alleged witches were persecuted due to mental illness may simply have been a way of getting such individuals off the hook for criminal charges. "The trouble was that they weren't crazy," Midelfort noted. "They were poor, isolated, and marginalized, and historians of psychiatry are slowly correcting this record." In the wry, straightforward tone for which his books have garnered awards, Midelfort set out to

correct and elaborate on a very specific piece of that record: the *Grosses Universal-Lexicon* published in Germany from 1731 to 1754, colloquially known as the Zedler Encyclopedia.

Compiled by bookseller Johann Heinrich Zedler, "the Zedler" was the largest encyclopedia of the eighteenth century and, as Midelfort observed, in its mass it created and reflected the internal contradictions of psychiatry and medicine of the day. With 68,000 pages and 288,000 entries, it spanned 58 volumes and brought together all of the information on medical science that its author could acquire. In effect, it created a record of the psychiatric and medical thinking of Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. Through its availability in the vernacular, it hastened the transmission of those ideas. The work, however, carried its own series of problems. It was, as Midelfort noted, "a terrific exercise in plagiarism," a jumble of passages and papers gleaned from an enormity of sources whose very compilation "can lead to a sort of incoherence." Inasamuch as incongruity can be confusing, however, it can also be productive. Internal inconsistencies provide a window onto the cultural self-contradictions that make up the true fabric of society, and which underlie its questions and its theories. For this reason, Midelfort pays them -- and the Zedler-- close attention.

The material available in the Zedler reflected the contrasting opinions on the meaning and origins of mental disorder available to early modern scholars. As Midelfort has noted before, earlier centuries were "rich in the variety of basic metaphors for irrationality, madness, and mental disorder, certainly as rich as our own century. There was no single hegemonic language that channeled all experiences into tyrannically narrow categories." To early modern observers, madness presented a riddle as complicated, mysterious, and diverse as the soul itself. This complexity was mirrored in the contradictory entries of the Zedler. Debate lingered over whether madness afflicted the body or the soul and, if the latter, how the soul – said to be an immortal reflection of God – could be diseased. To avoid this problem, observers suggested

multiple theories. Perhaps madness was the work of the devil or evil spirits, who had obtained physical power by entering people's bodies and taking control of them. Yet if the devil was a spirit, how could he affect people's physical bodies directly? Physicians offered the possibility that madness reflected the mental repercussions of physical illness, similar to the "heavy-mindedness" that ancient Greeks had believed resulted from an excess of black bile. Early modern physicians surmised that melancholy could arise from humors given to stoppings and blockages in portal veins. Alternatively, mental disorder might arise in response to the recognition of one's own sins, a form of remorse seen as culturally appropriate. University faculty traditionally kept medical terms of physiology separate from moral and intellectual causes, but their presence together in the Zedler reflected the continuing debate.

Modern medical approaches, Midelfort noted, continue to compete with each other in similar ways, and still resonate the tones of the debate. "Zedler and his huge encyclopedia show us just how old these questions are," he observed. The contention that mind and body are confusingly interlocked goes back to the very origins of modern medicine. Despite the efforts of doctors and theologians to emphasize a Cartesian split, cultural thinking in the early modern era readily admitted to reciprocity between mind and body. The similarity to notions of "mind-body medicine" in contemporary debate is apparent, part of a confusion that Midelfort concluded is normal and natural, "and filters down to us."

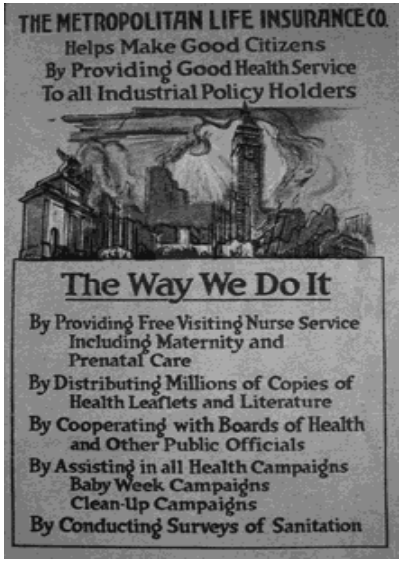
Midelfort's examination of complexity continued in the afternoon when he addressed the Richardson Seminar with a talk entitled "Feminine Ecstasy: On the Interpretation of German Prophecy in the 1690s." The phenomenon of "pietist ecstatics" which took place in Germany in the late seventeenth century created as much befuddlement as early modern madness, and for many of the same reasons. From the early 1690s, a reform movement within Lutheranism emphasized the importance of individual piety and the need for a "religion

of the heart." Its adherents, who became known as pietists, called for ascetism and a separation of Christians from the world, demands which, while familiar in themselves, created a challenge to the mainstream Lutheran church in their assertion of independence from church authority. More attention-grabbing, however, was a series of strange events among young pietist women in towns in northern Germany, who began to fall into trances, recite hymns in unfamiliar languages, and sweat blood. Upon waking, such women often claimed to have no consciousness of what had befallen them, though often as well they experienced visions of God or Jesus revealing paradise or other images "just too beautiful" to describe. One woman observed by a physician for 24 hours presented with an unchanged heart rate but eyes that seemed to have been frozen open. Her curious audience touched her eyes and pricked her deeply with a needle to no effect. Fifteen minutes later she came to, cried, and insisted that she heard and felt nothing of the physician, but rather felt as though she had awakened from a deep, pleasant sleep. Such cases presented a marvel and called for the judgement of physicians, but neither doctors nor lay people generated satisfactory explanations. The attacks seemed to have an origin without cause and without reason, and must therefore be deliverances from God, not nature. After observing his patient for 24 hours, the attending physician declared that her sickness was "more than merely natural" – that is, that it was not a sickness. Like madness, however, it was difficult to describe such a subject without the threat of heresy.

Onlookers again offered competing theories. Perhaps the women were demon-possessed, a problematic theory due to the difficulty of differentiating between divine and demonic sources. Perhaps, then, the hand of man had interfered with them through the use of such sorcery as "quaker powder," a concoction said to be manufactured by Quakers to force conversions; when applied to the body it caused convulsions. Perhaps the young women were merely malingering, using the excuse of trance states to avoid work or claim divine or

prophetic powers that would elevate them from their lower-class status. Ultimately there were no answers to be had. The phenomenon of pietist ecstatics decreased and then receded by the middle of the eighteenth century, and has been little studied outside of the German-speaking world. Midelfort took from it a further lesson in the tolerance of ambiguity. Like the experience of early moderns in classifying madness, the categories of the day will not always admit the nuances and contradictions of the lived world. "We tend too easily to fit things into the conditions we have inherited," the Professor noted, "not saying the words 'I don't know.'"

Megan J. Wolff, Ph.D., MPH



Richardson History of Psychiatry Seminar

Seminar Program Director's Report

This past year once again gave our seminar series a chance to both shine and reflect. Our speakers and members shone in their presentations, discussions, and overall professional exchange. The compilation itself reflected the importance of teaching and learning from one another.

Several of our speakers were here for the first time, some were repeat guests, and some will return in the future. We covered a wide range of topics including among them nymphomania, the Holocaust, Freudian historiography in Europe and Mexico, American culture, basic science, philosophy - broad and intense at the same time. A special aspect was the inclusion of member Louis Sass and alumnus James Wilk, and especially rewarding was the talk on the history of the American insurance industry given by Megan Wolff, Institute administrator (see article, p16).

It is a special privilege and pleasure to hold this office and to preside over such a scintillating seminar series.

Barbara Stimmel, Ph.D.



Seminar Presentations, 2011-2012

September 14
H.C. Erik Midelfort, Ph.D., University of Virginia

Eric T. Carlson Memorial Lecture: Grand Rounds
"Vernacular Psychiatry: Madness in an 18th-Century Encyclopedia."

Richardson Seminar
"Feminine Ecstasy: On the Interpretation of German Prophecy in the 1690s"

September 21
James Wilk, Ph.D.,University of Oxford
"Northfield's Invisible Legacies: Foulkes, Main, the Second Northfield Experiment and the Future of Psychiatry"

October 5
Megan J. Wolff, Ph.D., MPH, Weill Cornell Medical College
"The Money Value of Risk: Life Insurance and the Transformation of American Public Health, 1896-1924"

October 19
Brooke Holmes, Ph.D., Princeton University
"Forming the Soul as an Object of Care in Classical Greece"

November 2
Benjamin Poore, Queen Mary College, University of London
"Feudal Psychoanalysis: Masud Khan, TS Eliot and Tradition"

November 16
Nassir Ghaemi, M.D., MPH, Tufts Medical Center
"The Unknown Karl Jaspers: Existential Psychiatry Reexamined"

December 7
Ruben Gallo, Ph.D., Princeton University
"Freud in Mexico: The Neuroses of Modernity"

January 4
Richard Kaye, Ph.D., Hunter College & CUNY Graduate Center
"Disseminating Freud: James and Alix Strachey, Bloomsbury, and the Translation of Desire."

January 18
Kristin Lane, Ph.D., Bard College
"Attitudes and Prejudice Across Time"

February 1
Louis Sass, Ph.D., Rutgers University
"Delusions: the Phenomenological Approach"

February 15
Michael Roth, Ph.D., President, Wesleyan University
Esman Lecture
"Reaching the Higher Powers, Stirring Up the Depths: Psychoanalysis and History in the work of Peter Gay and Carl Schorske"

March 7
Carol Groneman, Ph.D., John Jay College of Criminal Justice and CUNY Graduate Center
"Nymphomania: A History"

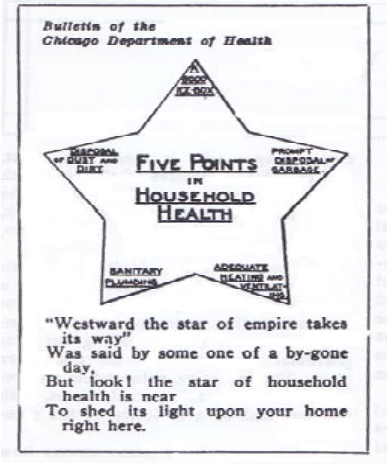
March 21
Rebecca Jordan-Young, Ph.D., Barnard College
"Trading Essence for Potential: Rethinking Sex/Gender in the Brain."

April 4
Adele Tutter, M.D., Ph.D., Columbia Center for Psychoanalytic Training & Research
"The Path of Phocion — From Disgrace to Dignity at the Philip Johnson Glass House"

April 18
Ben Harris, Ph.D., University of New Hampshire"Practicing Mind-Body Medicine Before Freud: John G. Gehring, the 'Wizard of the Androscoggin'"

May 2
Bonnie Evans, Ph.D., King's College, London "Hormones, Gender and Psychiatric Knowledge: The Maudsley Experiments 1923-1935"

May 16
Michael Grodin. M.D., Boston University
"Medical and Psychiatric Ethics in the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Nazi Doctors, Racial Hygiene, Murder and Genocide"



Working Groups in the History of Psychiatry

Working Group on Psychoanalysis and the Arts

The Working Group on Psychoanalysis and the Arts had another year of lively discussions, focused on work in progress by members of the group. For the first meeting of the academic year, we continued a discussion begun the previous spring of the rich, complex historical novel by Hilary Mantel, *Wolf Hall.* This discussion was led by Prof. Rosemary Stevens and the Rev. Curt Hart. Dr. Katherine Dalsimer considered two autobiographical essays by Virginia Woolf, from two very different points in her life—one begun when she was twenty-five, the other toward the end of her life. Dr. Nathan Kravis led a discussion of an autobiographical essay by Thomas de Quincy, "Suspiria de Profundis" (1845), a sequel to his more famous "Confessions of an English Opium-Easter" (1821). Prof. Anne Hoffman introduced us to the Israeli writer S.Y. Agnon through a discussion of his novel *To This Day*, whose first-person narrator is the author's ironic self-depiction. And Dr. Hilary Beattie ended the year by discussing the delightful *Period Piece*, an illustrated memoir by the artist Gwen Raverat, grand-daughter of Charles Darwin, of her late Victorian childhood in the heady world of Cambridge.

Katherine Dalsimer, Ph.D.

Working Group on History of Psychoanalysis

The group continued its tradition of spirited and lively discussion of readings chosen in turn by its members. In the fall, these included articles by Anne Harrington and Stephen Mennell selected by Dr. Wilk and by Wootton, Boris Sidis, and Bromberg assigned by Dr. Kravis. In the spring the group turned its attention to articles by Freud selected by Dr. Shapiro, essays by Erich Auerbach and Frank Kermode selected by Dr. Groopman, a recently published paper by Rachel Blass assigned by Dr. Stimmel, and articles by Freud, Ferenczi & Rank, and Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen selected by Dr. Friedman.

Nathan Kravis, M.D.



Research Faculty

Staff & Affiliated Faculty

George J. Makari, M.D.	Director
Nathan Kravis, M.D.	Associate Director
Marisa Shaari, M.L.I.S.	Spec.Collections Librarian
Megan J. Wolff, Ph.D., M.P.H.	Administrative Assistant

Anna M. Antonovsky, Ph.D.
Michael Beldoch, Ph.D.
Samantha Boardman, M.D.
Norman Dain, Ph.D. (Rutgers University)
Katherine Dalsimer, Ph.D.
Aaron H. Esman, M.D.
Joseph J. Fins, M.D., F.A.C.P.
Lawrence Friedman, M.D.
William A. Frosch, M.D.
Robert Goldstein, M.D.
Gerald N. Grob, Ph.D. (Rutgers University)
L. C. Groopman, M.D., Ph.D.
Leon D. Hankoff, M.D.
Anne Golomb Hoffman, Ph.D. (Fordham University)
Barbara Fass Leavy, Ph.D. (Queens College, CUNY)
Robert Michels, M.D.
Doris B. Nagel, M.D.
Mallay Occhiogrosso, M.D.
Orna Ophir, Ph.D.
Fred Sander, M.D.
Louis A. Sass, Ph.D. (Rutgers University)
Theodore Shapiro, M.D.
Paul E. Stepansky, Ph.D. (Montclair State University)
Rosemary A. Stevens, Ph.D., M.P.H.
Barbara Stimmel, Ph.D.
Craig Tomlinson, M.D. (Columbia University)
Siovahn A. Walker, Ph.D. (Columbia University)
Peter Wilson, M.D.

All have appointments at or are employed by Weill Cornell. If a member's primary academic position is elsewhere, it is given in parentheses.

Anna M. Antonovsky, Ph.D., is an active member of the Working Group for the History of Psychoanalysis, and continues to maintain a small practice on the Upper West Side.

Michael Beldoch, Ph.D., continues to participate actively at the Institute for the History of Psychiatry. He is a clinical professor at Weill Cornell Medical College.

Samantha Boardman, M.D., will be attending the Masters Program in Applied Positive Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania beginning this fall.

Katherine Dalsimer, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychiatry. She is an active member of the Institute for the History of Psychiatry, and coordinator of IHOP's Working Group on Psychoanalysis and the Humanities.

Aaron Esman, M.D., remains an active member of the Institute for the History of Psychiatry and an editorial reader for *the International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. From March through June, he exhibited six works in the Psychiatry Department's Art Show in the College Library.

Joseph J. Fins, M.D., F.A.C.P., continues to work primarily in neuroethics, with a focus on disorders of consciousness and neurotechnologies. This year he presented widely both here and abroad, including invited talks at the 40th Neural Interface Meeting convened by the National Institute for Neurological Diseases and Stroke and lectures at Stanford University, the University of British Columbia, the University of Cologne, the University of Oslo, the Brocher Foundation and the University of Geneva. He was honored to give several named lectures, including the 10th Annual Herbert Cohen Memorial

Lecture at the Columbia University Center for Bioethics. His forthcoming book, *Rights Come to Mind: Brain Injury, Ethics & The Struggle for Consciousness*, is under contract with The Cambridge University Press and expected in 2013. Dr. Fins serves on the Hastings Center's Board of Trustees and was elected Chair of its Fellows' Council. He continues as President of the American Society for Bioethics and Humanities. During the past year he was honored to receive a Distinguished Alumnus Award from his alma mater, Wesleyan University, which also named him a Trustee *Emeritus*. In addition, he was elected a Master of the American College of Physicians (M.A.C.P.) and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Lawrence Friedman, M.D., is on the faculty of the Institute for Psychoanalytic Education affiliated with N.Y.U. Medical School, where he is an advisor on its Curriculum Committee and is a member of its Curriculum Revision Committee. He also teaches a course in Freud's Papers on Technique. In 2011-2012, Dr. Friedman served on a committee to design a program on Critical Thinking at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute. In the American Psychoanalytic Association, he completed a term on the Program Committee. He remains a member of the Editorial Board of *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, and the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, for which he also serves on the Board of Directors. He is an Editorial Consultant for *Psicoterapia e Scienze Umane*.

William Frosch, M.D., continues his active participation with the Institute for the History of Psychiatry, and was intrigued to note this year that his commentary on Weintraub's paper, "The VIP Syndrome: a Clinical Study in Hospital Psychiatry," first published in 1964, was reprinted as a "classic" article in the June 2012 issue of the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*.

Robert Goldstein, M.D., continues to serve on the voluntary faculty at New York Presbyterian — Cornell Weill. He is

currently working on a paper on the development of ideas on mental coherence and its relationship to theories of neurological confabulation.

Gerald N. Grob, Ph.D., is as busy as ever, although retired. This year he published a number of articles, including (with Alan Horwitz) an article on the history of American psychiatric epidemiology, and articles on fibromyalgia, osteoporosis, mental health policy, the attack on psychiatry in the 1960s, and (with David Mechanic) on social policy and the American mental health system of care. Currently, he is writing a book on the history of osteoporsis for the Johns Hopkins Press Biography of Disease series. He is the Henry E. Sigerist Prof. of the History of Medicine Emeritus at the Institute for Health at Rutgers University.

Anne Golomb Hoffman, Ph.D., team-taught an advanced undergraduate seminar, "Hysteria, Sexuality, and the Unconscious," at Fordham University in fall 2011. She presented a paper, "Figuring Embodiment: Freud, Agnon, Kafka," at a colloquium on the work of S.Y. Agnon at Columbia University. Working with Freud's case study of an infantile neurosis, "Little Hans," along with several of Agnon's novels and Kafka's stories, Hoffman examined the reverberations of anti-Semitic representations of male Jewish feminization in the work of these writers. She gave an informal presentation on S.Y. Agnon's novel *To This Day* to IHOP's Working Group on Psychoanalysis and the Arts. In addition to completing an essay on analytic termination, her research during a Fordham faculty fellowship in spring 2012 addressed representations of the body in literature, visual arts, and psychoanalytic theory.

Nathan Kravis, M.D., Associate Director of the Institute for the History of Psychiatry, teaches and supervises at Cornell and Columbia. He presented a paper entitled "The Analyst's Hatred of Analysis" at the Philadelphia Center for

Psychoanalysis this year. He serves on the editorial boards of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*.

Barbara Fass Leavy, Ph.D., has had her originally self-published book, *The Fiction of Ruther Rendell: Ancient Tragedy and the Modern Family*, revised for publication by a trade press. Despite its lurid name -- Poisoned Pen Press -- the house is highly respected for publishing crime fiction and non-fiction about it. Her recent project involves a close study of Raymond Chandler and Benjamin Black (aka Irish author John Banville, a Booker Prize Winner) to determine whether Black/Banville can successfully carry out his plan to write a "new" Philip Marlowe book, or whether the psychological complexity Black/Banville brings to his writing will stand in the way of his recreating Marlowe as Chandler imagined him. Leavy continues to write analyses of crime fiction and to post on the forum on her website: barbaraleavy.com.

George J. Makari, M.D., the Director of the DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, serves as a Professor of Psychiatry at the Weill Cornell Medical College, and as an Adjunct Professor of Psychiatry at the Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research at Columbia University, as well as an Adjunct Professor at Rockefeller University. His work on several editorial boards continues at the *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences, American Imago, Academic Psychiatry,* and *History of Psychiatry.* His book on the creation of psychoanalysis was published in Spain and Mexico as *Revolucion en Mente* (Sexto Pisto). From January through June of this year, Dr. Makari enjoyed a sabbatical to focus on a long-standing book project on the origins of psychiatry and mind sciences. Though largely holed up in his office at Rockefeller University, he found time to deliver a lecture in February to the Los Angeles Institute and Society for Psychoanalytic Studies, and in April to present Grand Rounds at SUNY Stonybrook. He blogs (infrequently!) with *Psychology Today*. (http://www.psychologytoday.com/experts/george-makari-md)

Robert Michels, M.D., gave the 7th Annual Robert S. Wallerstein, M.D. Lecture this year. In addition, he delivered the Visiting Scholar Lecture in Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy at the University of California, San Francisco, and presented Grand Rounds at New York Medical College, Bellevue Medical Center, Wright State University, and Silver Hill Hospital. He gave the first annual Arnold Cooper Memorial Grand Rounds at Cornell, was a discussant at the Presidential Symposium at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, as well as a discussant on a panel at the winter meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association. Dr. Michels is a member of IHOP's Working Group on the History of Psychoanalysis. He is Deputy Editor of *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, is active on the editorial boards of *Psychiatry* and *Psychoanalytic Quarterly,* and this year concluded his term as Joint Editor-in-Chief of *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

Doris B. Nagel, M.D., has written a lengthy manuscript depicting the life and treatment of a wealthy industrial executive who became psychotic in 1906 at the age of 30, and who was seen and/or treated by many of the most influential psychiatrists of the first half of the twentieth century until the time of his death in 1947. These psychiatrists included: James J. Putnam, Adolf Meyer, Emil Kraepelin, William Alanson White, August Hoch, Smith Ely Jelliffe, Gilbert von Tassel Hamiton, Edward J. Kempf, and C. Macfie Campbell. Eminent endocrinologists were also consulted along the way. The case history vividly illustrates varying psychiatric vantage points, shifting with the individual consultant and with developments in the field over time. Extensive revisions are still necessary to bring this manuscript into publishable shape. In addition Dr. Nagel still serves as a member of the Institute's Annual Report Committee and attends history seminars.

Mallay Occhiogrosso, M.D., is an Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College and an Assistant Attending Psychiatrist at New York Presbyterian Hospital. She is a former director of the Richardson History of Psychiatry Research Seminar and a researcher in women's mental health and personality disorders. She currently is the recipient of a NARSAD Junior Investigator Grant to study the effects of in-utero SSRI exposure on pulmonary function.

Orna Ophir, Ph.D., is an advanced candidate at the Institute for Psychoanalytic Training and Research, and is one of the founding members of *Das Unbehagen*, a working group of young psychoanalysts and candidates who meet to discuss the process of psychoanalytic training and the future of psychoanalysis. In December 2011, Dr. Ophir organized an international conference on *Psychoanalysis and Psychosis in Institutional Culture* in Jerusalem, in cooperation with The Sigmund Freud Center for Study and Research in Psychoanalysis at the Hebrew University. In May 2012, Dr. Ophir visited the Klein Archive at the Wellcome Institute in London, having received the Melanie Klein Trust's permission to consult and publish extracts from the Klein archive as part of her second book project.

Louis A. Sass, Ph.D., celebrated a promotion to Professor II (equivalent of "Distinguished Professor") at Rutgers University's Department of Clinical Psychology within the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology (GSAPP). He lectured widely in Germany, including delivery of the keynote address at the Free University of Berlin for a conference on the "Languages of Emotion." He also presented talks to the New York Academy of Medicine, Yale University's Working group on "Mind, Brain, Culture, and Consciousness," and our own Richardson Seminar on the History of Psychiatry.

Theodore Shapiro, M.D., is a charter and current member of IHOP's Working Group on the History of Psychoanalysis, and continues his work as co- principle investigator in a pilot study of psychodynamic psychotherapy for children and adolescents with anxiety disorders. He and Barbara Milrod continue to collaborate in refining the manual and preparing it for publication. He also has joined her and others from Columbia and Cornell in the preparation of a paper describing a programmatic study of early inhibition and separation anxiety as a marker for later disorder and moderator in outcome studies. He continues to teach PGY3 residents and Child and Adolescent Fellows clinical skills and the interviewing of children and adolescents, and shepherds a course for PG3s in developmental principles of psychiatry. Shapiro also is the Director of the Sackler Program in Infant Psychiatry, associated with the Sackler Institute for developmental neurobiology. He offered Grand Rounds in December 2011 at the Albert Einstein Medical College and has published three papers during the past academic year.

Paul E. Stepansky, Ph.D., has been teaching history of medicine seminars at Montclair State University and writing essays for his blog, "Medicine, Health, and History" (www.adoseofhistory.com), in addition to preparing a day-long seminar for the staff of University Hospital of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey titled "The Professionalization of Women in Medicine, Nursing, and Social Work: A Comparative Historical Inquiry." He will be one of two featured speakers at a luncheon symposium, "When Specialization Did and Did Not Take Place: The Power of Generalist Values in Modern Medicine" (chaired by John Burnham) at the May meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine. In early 2013, his publishing imprint, Keynote Books, will release its third book, Elaine Siegel's *Chaos Unbound: A Jewish Childhood in Nazi Berlin.*

Rosemary A. Stevens, Ph.D., M.P.H., has had a heavy but productive writing and rewriting (and rewriting) year, and hopes to get a full draft of her book out to readers in the New Year. Its tentative title is: *The Optimist: Charles R. Forbes, The United States Veterans Bureau, and the First Major Scandal of the Harding Administration.* She is living mentally in the 1920s. Her most notable talk last year was at the University of Chicago, where she gave a seminar at the MacLean Center for Clinical Medical Ethics on February 29, 2012, entitled "The Limits of Professionalism: Old Questions in New Contexts." During the year she was elected a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Barbara Stimmel, Ph.D., is the Director of the Richardson Seminar Series at the DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry. A member of the Working Group on the History of Psychoanalysis and of the Working Group on Psychoanalysis and the Arts, she remains actively engaged in multiple facets of the Institute. This year she attended that International Psychoanalytic Association meeting in Mexico City, where she sat on a panel chaired by Ted Jacobs on "Experience in Treatment of Sexual Difficulties: Strengths and Limitations of Psychoanalytic Approach." Her own paper was entitled "Confidentiality: Impossible Rule of the Impossible Profession." Dr. Stimmel serves as Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, and as an editorial reader at the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*.

Daria Colombo, M.D., is in private practice in Seattle, and is teaching at the Seattle Psychoanalytic Institute, as well as supervising psychiatry residents at The University of Washington. She contributed a chapter, "Freud and his Circle" to the 2012 *Textbook of Psychoanalysis*, is an editorial reader for the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* and an associate board member of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

Hannah S. Decker, Ph.D., fellow (1967-1970), completed her book, *The Making of DSM-III: A Diagnostic Manual's Conquest of American Psychiatry*, and looks forward to its publication by Oxford University Press in March 2013. She continues to teach at the University of Houston, and to serve on the Adjunct Faculties of the Menninger Department of Psychiatry at the Baylor College of Medicine and the Center for Psychoanalytic Studies (Houston).

John Efron, Ph.D., fellow (1988-1989), is the Koret Professor of Jewish History at the University of California at Berkeley. His most recent book is *The Jews: A History* (Prentice Hall, 2009) and he is currently at work on another book entitled, *Sephardic Aesthetics and Ashkenazic Imagination: German-Jewry in the Age of Emancipation*. It is a study of the cult of the Sephardic Jews among nineteenth-century German Jews. Examining a broad array of topics such as German-Jewish views on the Hebrew pronunciation of the Sephardim, their bodily deportment, and historical representations of Spanish Jewry, the study seeks to demonstrate how the medieval Jews of the Iberian peninsula served as a model of an ideal Jewish community for German Jews insofar as they imagined the Sephardim as a community both fully steeped in Jewish tradition but also fully at home within the dominant culture of Muslim Spain. For German Jews on the cusp of emancipation

and thus cultural integration, Spanish Jewry seemed to show how balancing Jewish and European identities was possible.

Eric J. Engstrom, Ph.D., fellow (2000-2001), is currently a research associate in the Department of History at the Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany. As a member of the research unit on "Cultures of Madness in Berlin, 1870-1930" he is continuing to conduct research for a book on the history of forensic cultures in Berlin before the First World War. He is also co-editing a volume of essays on "The Politics of Suicide: Historical Perspectives on Suicidology before Durkheim" that has been accepted for publication in the *Journal of Social History* in early 2013. He presented two papers on forensic topics, one at the annual Congress of the German Society for Psychiatry, Psychotherapy and Neurology (DGPPN) in Berlin and another at the annual meeting of the History of Science Society in Cleveland. In September of 2011, he also delivered a paper on Emil Kraepelin's understanding of affective disorders at a conference on "Emotions and Medicine in the 20th Century" at the Max-Planck-Institute for Human Development in Berlin. He is currently also Honorary Lecturer at the Centre for the History of the Psychological Disciplines at UCL London and was named to the editorial board of the *Lokman Hekim Journal of Medical History and Folk Medicine*. He remains a member of a work-group at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psychiatry in Munich, where he is currently completing work on the 8th volume of the papers of Emil Kraepelin covering the years 1921-1926. He is also co-editor of an internet blog site on the history of psychiatry (H-Madness) at http://historypsychiatry.wordpress.com. For more details, see http://amor.hu-berlin.de/~engstroe/.

James Wilk, Ph.D., fellow (2009 - 2010) pursued his work at the New York Academy of Medicine on urban health, and continued his research at the University of Oxford into the influence of émigré Frankfurt psychoanalyst S. H. "Michael" Foulkes on the post-war development of psychoanalysis—in

particular, Foulkes's role in introducing the ideas of biologist Kurt Goldstein and sociologist Norbert Elias into mainstream British psychoanalytic thinking. He led a session of the Working Group on the History of Psychoanalysis at Weill Cornell on this topic, as well as lecturing on it to the Richardson History of Psychiatry Research Seminar. He has been completing his book on the twentieth century revolution in ideas, highlighting the role of psychoanalysts in the cybernetics movement, and he presented aspects of this work as an invited guest lecturer at Fordham University in the Department of Philosophy ("Philosophy Without Arguments: Think Before You Think"), and in a seminar at "How the Light Gets In," the UK's annual festival of philosophy and music, where he was also an invited panellist on the role of mavericks in science. He successfully completed his clinical work as senior advisor leading a team of the top psychologists at the English Institute of Sport in work aimed to improve significantly the medal chances of the British team across 70% of the events in the 2012 Olympics (where Britain finished third overall behind China and the United States and achieved their biggest gold medal haul for 104 years).



Alexandra C. Sacks, M.D., was a Benjamin Rush Scholar in the History of Psychiatry from 2008-2012. In the past academic year she conducted an independent study with Dr. Leonard Groopman on a project in her particular area of historical interest: the history of psychotropic treatment in pregnancy in 20th century America. This paper is currently being edited for submission to publication. She also co-authored an article with Dr. Robert Michels in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* entitled "Caduceus and Asclepius: History of an Error." In addition, she was a 2012 recipient of the Association of Women Psychiatrists-Alexandra and Martin Symonds Foundation Fellowship. Dr. Sacks graduated in Adult Psychiatry from New York-Presbyterian Hospital/ Weill Cornell Medical Center last May, and is now a fellow in Women's Mental Health at New York-Presbyterian Hospital/Columbia University and has a part time private practice. She plans to return to the Institute of the History of Psychiatry Institute as a member.

Raymond Raad, M.D., M.P.H., is a PGY IV resident in Psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical Center, and has been a Benjamin Rush Fellow since 2009. He began with a tutorial in the history of psychiatry, and then published a paper in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* on the development of moral treatment at the York Retreat in England in the early 1800s. He then went on to write, with Professor Paul Appelbaum, a history of involuntary hospitalization in the United States, which will be published as a lead chapter in a book on involuntary hospitalization [in press]. He is also working with Dr. Theodore Shapiro on a history of free will and volition in psychoanalysis. His other interests include health policy and international comparisons of health care systems.

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Special Acknowledgments

We would like to express our warm appreciation to Katherine Addleman Cooper, Dr. Paul Freedman, Dr. Theodore Shapiro, Dr. Katherine Dalsimer, Dr. Joseph Reppen, Dr. Sylvia R. Karasu, Dr. Janel Carino, Sidney Fortner, Dr. Naomi Goldstein, Dr. Michel Radomisli, Dr. Nathan Kravis, Dr. Doris Nagel, Dr. Barbara Stimmel, Prof. Rosemary Stevens, Dr. Jack Barchas, the Esman family, and Dr. William Frosch for contributions or assistance exceeding the categories of membership.

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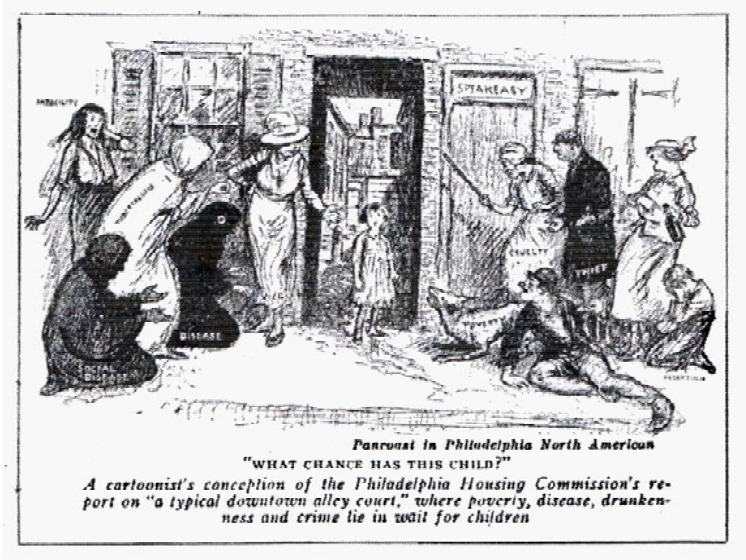
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A cartoonist's conception of the Philadelphia Housing Commission's report on "a typical downtown alley court," where poverty, disease, drunkenness and crime lie in wait for children